2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

word *uñuo*, the right side. For the definition of relative height the Yakut use the words, *tahys*, to ascend and *kĭr*, to descend. The Yakut descends into (*kirĭr*) and ascends from (*taxsar*) the earth hut; *kŭn kirĭr*, the sun comes down, and *kŭn taxsar*, the sun rises.

The dwelling places of supernatural beings are in the upper, middle, and lower worlds. In the upper world dwells the *Ürüñ Ajy Toyon* and also the terrible *Ulŭtuyar Ulŭ Toyon*. In the lower world lives *Arsan Duolai*. The *Abasy* live in the upper as well as in the lower world.

The *Icci* and the *Ajy* dwell in the middle world,[1] but somewhat lower, not reaching the lower world.

The *Yŏr* belong to the middle world, whether they dwell on the earth or in the clouds.

The *Ürüñ Ajy Toyon* (White Creator Lord) dwells, according to one informant, at the zenith and according to others in the northeast.

Ulutuyar Ulŭ Toyon lives in the west; *Arsan Duolai* sometimes in the southwest, sometimes in the northwest.

The *Ajy* and *Icci* dwell in the east. The *Abasy* live at all cardinal points, but chiefly in the west.

After settling in the different worlds and cardinal points, all these spirits began to follow their own modes of life and did not enter into relations with each other. Each of them appears as a complete master of his province, his "people," has his own household and often cattle. In the original Yakut mythology, which is uninfluenced by Christian legends, there is no trace of difficulties or struggles between the various classes of supernatural beings.

Very characteristic of the Yakut beliefs is the absence of conceptions of paradise and hell and the lack of any idea of retaliation as we understand it. The Yakut word *ajŭ* usually translated, sin, means more properly, harm, damage; for instance, *ajŭ* is used when milk is spoiled by a mouse falling into it, or, when a man's bed is contaminated by a frog.

When a man, willingly or unwillingly, had offended some spirit, violated his rights, or did not fulfill his obligations, he was liable to be punished in some way: by illness, epizooty, or some other calamity. The Yakut is a hunter and fishermen. The *abasy-siăce* (i.e., *abasy*, the eater) also procures food for himself, and this food may be the man and his cattle. The *Ajy* and *Icci* may or may not give the man something. They are quite indifferent to him.

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[1] There are some exceptions, as, for instance, *dĭĭñ icciti*, the spirit-owner of the thunder, who lives in the upper world.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

When a man is ill or unfortunate, it is necessary for him to seek someone who will find the cause and who will either cure him or release him from his misfortune. Such people are known under various names: *alhacci*, conjuror; *mănăric*, hysterical; *kŏrbŭŏccŭ*, prophet; *icăn*, sorcerer; *oyūn*, shaman; *udahan*, woman-shaman.

Their ideas as to the creation of the world have not been affected by contact with Christianity. In their religious constructions, the Yakut start from what exists and, in their own way, explain the changes in the order of things which existed from the beginning. The very conception of creation, expressed in the word *ai*, is very close to the notion of arrangement or transformation. *Ajŷsyt*, the goddess of lying-in, is called creative generator, but this means only that she brings the child's soul, is present, and assists while in child-bed.

Although parents are responsible for a child while it is growing, it may itself be punished for disrespect towards the spirits. When he has reached maturity, marries, and establishes his own household, he selects a place to build a house, but it has its owner-spirit from whom it is necessary to obtain permission to proceed. When the house, stall, and shelter for cattle are ready, each of these buildings, as well as the new fireplace, has its own "owners" with whom it is important to enter into good relations. To procure food and clothing for the family it is necessary to hunt in the woods and to fish in the lakes, but forests and waters have their own owners, without whose permission one cannot use the utilities they supervise. That the family may have adequate provision, the cattle must propagate, and for this, corresponding spirits must be propitiated. For the cattle, one needs to store hay, but grass grows in places belonging to particular owners. While traveling, a man passes the possessions of different owners, who must be conciliated with gifts or appropriate prayers. Thus, we see a well organized system in the relations of man to the circle of spirits. However, a closer investigation shows the system to consist of heterogeneous elements. To give some examples:—

A man-shaman is called *oyūn* and a woman-shaman, *udahan*. Both play an important rôle in Yakut beliefs. While *oyūn* is a Turkic word, *udahan* is adopted from the Mongolian language. Why? Why also is a woman-shaman regarded as more powerful than a man shaman? Why may *oyūn* enter into the formation of compound words (for instance, *mas oyūn*, a wooden shaman, is called the humming top) while *udahan* may not be so used? Why may *oyūn* and not *udahan* be part of words designating inanimate objects?

6: Sauer--118 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
562, 783

"Women are not admitted into the hut [RCH: in which the ceremony of the koumis festival is being performed]; nor are they, or the disqualified, allowed any of the koumis out of the first symir, which they call sanctified, as possessing the power of purifying and strengthening in a divine sense."

233 together in pairs and thus obtains the equivalent of one pulley with
401 two large openings [Fig. 9m].

492 This method of harnessing the reindeer is quite convenient thanks to the system of pulleys: each of the reindeer pulls an equal share of the load, and a contributing factor here is the fact that going from right to left the reins of the reindeer get progressively shorter
[531][Fig. 9A]. The ala strap and the girth of the dressharness are covered with red or green cloth and decorated with varicolored glass beads, or else the parts made of reindeer hide are decorated with designs sewn with thread made from reindeer tendons. The cargo harness is much simpler: it consists only of an ala strap, which is canvas for the most part (made from sacks), and there is no girth at all. Usually there is no halter either; the reindeer are tied by their necks to the back of the front sled. There are either two or four reindeer in a cargo team and when there are four each pair of them has only one neck-rope [Figs. 8C and 9N]. We think it is helpful to reproduce a special drawing [Fig. 10] in order to introduce a simplified description of the terms used by the local Russian speakers for the parts of the sled.

493 Reindeer sleds among the Dolgan can be separated into five types: 1) Bytej s'rga, or olok s'rga--the "covered" or light sled [Fig. 11]; 2) 'raak'--"iraka" in the local Russian pronunciation [Fig. 12]; 3) setii s'rga--the cargo sled, or the sled "which is lead" [Fig. 13]; 4) tard'' or turku--the cargo sled [Fig. 14]; and 5) turkucaaŋk', or little turku [Fig. 16].

[783] The "covered" sled is used exclusively for light riding; in the Noril'sk Rayon only the women ride on them--the men consider this a profanation for themselves, since after a trip on a female sled it would be necessary for them to cross over the path of the shaytany--the household spirits--or of a wild animal, which is considered to be unclean. In other regions this rule is not observed: there men too ride on "covered" sleds. The "covered" sled is distinguished by high legs forty-five to fifty centimeters long, of which there are five, eight, twelve, or fourteen on one sled. These legs are slanted toward the back of the sled, and they are mounted in such a way that they are farther apart from each other at the bottom than they are at the top [Fig. 10]. This is done so that the considerable height of the body of the sled will not make the whole sled unstable and allow it to turn over. Such a construction is also convenient in that it allows a person sitting in the sled to stand with his feet on the runners, which stick out beyond the line of the so-called "bayka," in